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# AN ENGLISH MISCELLANY

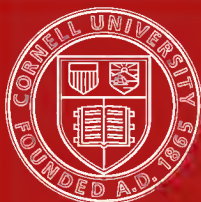
PRESENTED TO DR. FURNIVALL  
IN HONOUR OF HIS  
SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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Napier, Arthur Sampson, 1853-1916

XXXIX.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO OLD ENGLISH  
LITERATURE.

1. AN OLD ENGLISH HOMILY ON THE  
OBSERVANCE OF SUNDAY<sup>1</sup>.

IN an interesting article on 'The chief Sources of some Anglo-Saxon Homilies' in the *Otia Merseiana*, i. 129 (Liverpool, 1899), Professor R. Priebisch has treated of the origin of five Old English Homilies which have for their subject a letter purporting to have been sent from heaven<sup>2</sup> in order to inculcate the strict observance of Sunday. It enforces the abstention from all kinds of work, and enumerates the severe afflictions and punishments to come in case of disobedience. Four of the five OE. Homilies were printed by myself in my *Wulfstan* (Berlin, 1883): viz. Nos. xlv. (= A), xliii. (= C), xlv. (= D), lvii. (= E); whilst a fifth (= B) is edited by Priebisch for the first time from MS. 140 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He has also published from a fourteenth-century Vienna Codex (MS. 1355) a Latin homily which evidently represents the Latin version from which A was ultimately derived.

<sup>1</sup> This homily was already in type when Prof. Ker suggested that I should add my notes on the Franks Casket (cp. p. 362). Hence this double article.

<sup>2</sup> Priebisch has in preparation a monograph dealing with the whole history of this letter of Christ in the Middle Ages.

A a 2

E.V.

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Pribsch shows that these homilies should be divided into three groups according to the varying forms of their Latin authority. In the first group, to which A and B<sup>1</sup> as well as the Vienna Latin version belong, the letter is represented as falling from heaven to a gate of Jerusalem called Effrem, where it is found by a priest Achorius (Ichor), and after passing through various hands, finally comes to St. Peter's altar at Rome.

In the second group, to which C and D belong<sup>2</sup>, Christ's letter has been brought into connexion with a certain deacon Nial, who comes to life again after having been dead for some time, and announces that fire is to fall upon the earth in consequence of men's disbelief in the heavenly letter. This version concludes with the statement that Florentius was Pope, and Petrus Bishop of Rome, when the letter was found upon St. Peter's altar.

In the third group Peter, Bishop of Antioch, is the recipient of the letter from heaven. Of this group Pribsch has only one OE. representative, viz. E, but there is a second version belonging to it (F) which, as it has not yet been published, I give below in full. It is contained in the eleventh-century MS. 162 (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), pp. 44-52. In printing I have disregarded the manuscript punctuation, as well as the use of capitals; the contractions are indicated by italics; in other respects I have followed the MS.

A comparison of F with E (*Wulfstan*, pp. 291-299) at once reveals a great similarity between them. Although they differ entirely in their wording, their contents are to a large extent identical, and they are evidently independently derived from one and the same Latin original. The agreement between the two extends down to *Wulfstan*,

<sup>1</sup> An OE. homily in MS. Otho B. 10, which is now destroyed, appears to have been closely allied to B. (cp. Pribsch, p. 129).

<sup>2</sup> C and D are merely two recensions of one and the same OE. homily.

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p. 298<sup>12</sup>, where the mention of hell has led the scribe of E into an enumeration of the different kinds of sinners destined to go thither, how the devil tempts men to sin, &c.—nothing further being said about the heavenly letter—and we may fairly assume that, in this respect, E represents the original less faithfully than F, which concludes with a solemn attestation of the genuineness of the letter by Bishop Peter of Antioch. It is noteworthy that in both the OE. representatives of this group (and therefore in their Latin original) it is an angel who is the actual writer and bearer of the letter, whilst in the other non-English versions no mention whatever is made of an angel<sup>1</sup> (cp. Pribsch, p. 147).

Be þam drihtenlican sunnandæg folces lār.

Men ða leofestan, her onginð ðæt ærendgewrit ures Drihtnes middangeardes Hælendes, be þam forebode ealra yfela 7 be þam embegange ealra goda. Ð awrat Drihtnes engel into his sylfes fingrum and hit sealde Petre þam bisceope on ðære Antiochiscan cirican bebeodende 7 halsigende (p. 45) þurh naman þæs lifigendan Godes þ he gewidmærsode þas Drihtnes word eallum cynegum 7 bisceopum 7 eac swilce eallum cristenum folce.

Ðillic is þonne se fruma þæs ærendgewrites: 'Ic, ærendraca 7 boda Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes, betæce 7 bebeode þam bisceopum 7 þam cynegum 7 eallum gepungenum mannum þ hi lufien rihtwisnysse on eallum þingum 7 þeowien Drihtne on eallum ege, 7 þ ge gehealdan sunnandæg fram eallum woruldlicum weorcum, forðanðe God geworhte manega wundra on ðam sunnandæge. Ð is þonne ærest, þ he on þam sunnandæge geworhte heofonas 7 eorðan mid eallum heofonlicum endebyrðnyssum 7 þ ungehiwedlice andweorc. On sunnandæg he<sup>2</sup> geworhte ealle þa ðing þe witudlice syndon gesewene 7 wuniað. On ðam dæge he gesceop

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, &c. iii. 288, where a charm is brought by an angel from heaven, and laid on St. Peter's altar at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> After *he* about eight letters erased.



ealra manna sawla; 7 on ðam dæge Crist wæs acenned þisne middaneard to alysenne; 7 on ðam dæge he todælde þa readan sæ on twelf<sup>1</sup> dælas; 7 on ðam dæge arās ure Drihten of deaðe; 7 on ðone dæg he asende Haligne Gast ofer his ærendracan; 7 on ðone dæg he let rinan wundorlice ándlyfene of heofonum ofer þ̅ Israhela folc, 7 hi on ðam fedde feowertig wintra. 7 on ðam dæge he gecyrd wæter (p. 46) to wine on Chana, þære Galileiscan byrig; 7 on ðam dæge God geblotsode<sup>2</sup> .v. berene hlafas 7 .ii. fixas, 7 of þam he afedde .v. þusend manna, 7 þær to lafe wæron .xii. cypan fulle on þam gebrytsnum. 7 on sunnandæg toslæp Iudea gesamnung 7<sup>3</sup> acenned wearð seo geleaffulle gesamnung<sup>3</sup>. 7 on þam dæge bið þes middanerd geendad; 7 on ðam dæge God demð menniscum cynne. 7 þa ðe her rihtlice lybbað, hi gewitað on þ̅ ece lif; 7 þa ðe her on woh libbað, hi gewitað on þ̅ ece fyr, and hi beoð cwylmede on ecum bryne mid þam deofle 7 his gesiðum.

Þi þonne eow bebeodeð Drihten God þ̅ ge þone sunnandæg healdan fram eallum woruldicum weorcum: þ̅ is þonne fram unclænnysse 7 fram forligre 7 fram druncennysse 7 fram manslihte 7 fram leasunge 7 fram reaflice 7 fram stale 7 fram unrihtþæmede 7 fram geflite 7 fram andan 7 fram eallum máne. 7 þas þing sindon eallum tidum forbodene. 7 healdon ge þone sunnandæg wið ælce ceapunga. On ðam dæge sy þ̅ eower æreste weorc þ̅ ge eow geemtigen on gebedum, 7 þ̅ ge gehyren on cirican halige bodunga fram eowrum lareowum, 7 secað halige stowe 7 geneosiað untrumra manna 7 deade bebyrgeað. 7 on ðan dæge ge sceolon þearfan fedan 7 nacode scrydan 7 þurstigum<sup>4</sup> drincas (p. 47) syllan 7 hæftedlingas alysan 7 ælpeodige wilsumlice ónfon 7 wreccan helpian 7 wædlan 7 wudewan frofor gearwian 7 gesibsumian þa ungesehtan cristenan. Þas æðelan weorc sint to healdenne on eallum tidum beforan Gode, þeahhwæðere swiþost on sunnandæg, forðanðe sunnandæg is se forma 7 se ytemysta dæg ealra daga.

‘Gif ge þonne elles doð butan þas forespræcanan þing, þonne swinge ic eow þam heardostan swinglan, þ̅ is þ̅ ic asette on eorðan

<sup>1</sup> Over *twelf* another hand has added *xii*.

<sup>2</sup> The *ge* of *gebl-* added above the line.

<sup>3</sup> 7 *acenned* . . . *gesamnung* added in another hand above the line.

<sup>4</sup> *þurstigum* altered from *-tīge*.



mine feower wyrrestan domas, hungor 7 hæftned 7 gefeoht 7 cwelm, 7 ic eow gesylle to ælþeodigra handa, 7 ic eow fordō 7 besence eow, swa ic dyde Sodoman 7 Gomorran, 7 ic dyde Dathan 7 Abiron, þa yfelan þe wiðsocon minum naman 7 forsawon mine sacerdas; 7 ic eow gelæde to hergienne on þa ðeode þe ge heora gereord ne cunnon, 7 hi gegripað ongean eow scyldas 7 flana; 7 þære þeode stefen angryslice fram norðdæle ofer eow swegð, 7 heora hlisa eow gebregð ærðanðe he to eow cume, 7 geswenceð mid sare 7 gegripeð eow swa þ̅ eacnigende wif, forþiðe gē ne healdað þone halgan sunnandæg, 7 forðanðe ge onscuniað me 7 ge nellað mine word gehyran.'

And be þysum ylcan andgyte Drihten cwæð, 'Se ðe of Gode bið, he Godes word gehyrð<sup>1</sup>.' Þa yfelan þwyran men hyt (p. 48) gehyrað, ac hi hyt healdan nellað, forðiþe hi þæs deoffles syndon, gif hi yfeles geswican nellað 7 þam gelyfan þe we eow herbeforan ær sædon. Drihten sylf cwæð, 'Wite<sup>2</sup> ge gewislice 7 on gemyndum habbað þ̅ ic fram frymðe bebead þone sunnandæg to healdenne; 7 swa hwa swa ænig woruldlic weorc on sunnandæg wyrceð, oððe hrægel wæseceð oððe ænigne cræft<sup>3</sup> wyriceð, oððe he his fex efsige oððe hlafas bace oððe ænig unalyfed þing þurhtihþ, ic hine fornime 7 his gewyrhtan 7 his gefylstan of minum rice; 7 þa ðe þis doð, hi minre bletsunge ne onfoð ne næfre ne gemetað. Ac for þære bletsunge þe hi forhogodon on þam sunnandæge buton yldinge wirignyssse hi gemetað. 7 ic asende on heora hiwrædene unari-medlice untrumnyssse 7 cwealmas, ægðer ge ofer hi ge ofer heora bearn 7 ofer heora hired 7 ofer heora nytenu, forðiðe hi min word oferhogodon. La forhwī ne geman seo þweore þeod 7 seo wiðerwearde, þe nu wunað on ðære ytemestan tīde þises middaneardes, hu ic het Romana cyningas faran to Hierusalem þære ceastre, seo me wæs ofer ealle oðre ceastre þeo<sup>4</sup> gecorenesste, 7 ic hi het ut alædan on þone halgan easterdæg of ðære ceastre .xi. siðum hundred þusenda on hæftned; 7 hi hundred þusenda (p. 49) þærinne ofslogon, forði mine leofan Hierusalemceasterware me forhogodon 7 mine lareowas, 7 hi ne heoldon þone drihtlican sunnandæg swa ic him bebead. Gif ge þonne on þam halgan sunnandæge on ænigum gefliste

<sup>1</sup> John viii. 47.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *witu*, after which a letter has been erased.

<sup>3</sup> The *t* of *cræft* added over the line.

<sup>4</sup> So MS.

standað oððe on ænigum fullicum weorcum oððe on unnyttum, ic þonne onsende yfela gehwile, 7 hi todrifene weorþað 7 geteoriað mid arleasra sawlum, forðipe hi min gebod forhogodon. Soðlice, gif ge þis ne healdað þone halgan sunnandæg fram eallum weorcum, ægðer ge þeowe ge frige, fram þære nigoðan tide þæs sæternesdæges oð ðone morgen on monandæg, ic eow amansumige fram minum fæder, 7 ge dæl nabbað mid me ne mid minum englum. Ac gyf ge þis forhicgað 7 sacerðum ne gehyrað 7 eowrum ylðrum 7 wisum lareowum, þe eow swuteliað þisne weg 7<sup>1</sup> eow secgað eowre sawle þearfe, hwæt ge for Godes lufon don scylon, 7 ge þæt forhogiað<sup>1</sup>, þonne onsend ic ofer eowerne eard ysta 7 ligræscas 7 wilde fyr on eowrum ceastrum 7 on eowrum tunum 7 mistida hreognysse 7 ungemetlice hætan 7 unwæstmbernysse æcera 7 treowa 7 wingearða 7 ealra eorðan blosmena<sup>2</sup>. And gif ge getreowlice 7 rihtlice þa frumsceattas eowre teopunga of eallum eowrum geswincum, oððe on landes teolunge, oððe on ænigum cræfte, on ælmihtiges Godes naman to ðam (p. 50) cyrican ne bringað þe eow mid rihte to gebyreð, þonne aníme ic eow fram þa nigon dælas 7 ic þærtoéacan gedó þ on eowrum húsum weorðað acennede blinde bearn 7 déafe 7 ánhende, hreoflan 7 láman, 7 eow þonne gewyrð swa micel hungor þ se welega ne mæg þam wæðlan gehelpan.'

Men ða leofestan, ge habbað genoh gehyred be ðam sunnandæge, forðanðe se ðe of Gode is, he Godes word gehlyst 7 þa wel gehlyt. For ures Drihtnes, Hælendes Cristes lufon ic myngie eow 7 eac halsige þ ge georne þis eall understandan<sup>3</sup> þe ic eow gesæd hæbbe, forðan þises middaneardes ende<sup>4</sup> is swiðe neah, 7 eower geara gerim ys gescyrt. Ðonne is eow micel neaðþearf þ ge gebeton þa þing þe eow fram Gode forbodene wæron 7 on ðære ealdan cyðnysse þurh heahfæderas 7 witegan 7 on ðære niwan þurh Godes sunu ænne 7 þurh þa apostolas 7 þa witigan 7 þurh þa wundru þe God dæghwamlice on middaneard ætyweð, ægþer ge on eorðan ge on heofonum ge on steorran ge on sæge on eallum gesceaftum. Gemunað ge weligan þ ge eowre wiste rihtlice gehealden, 7 on-

<sup>1</sup> 7 eow . . . forhogiað added in another hand above the line.

<sup>2</sup> MS. eorðana blosmen.

<sup>3</sup> -ndan] a altered from u.

<sup>4</sup> ende in a different hand above the line, below it about six letters have been erased.

drædað eow þ þ awriten is þurh þone witegan. 'Wá eow þe wyrcað dæg to nihte 7 niht to dæge, 7 wendað swête on biter 7 biter on swête. Wá eow þe fram morgen oð æfen 7 fram æfen oð morgen mid missenlicra glíwa oferfiligað<sup>1</sup> (p. 51) 7 druncennysse neosiað on eowrum gebeorscipum oð wambe fylnysse.' Nyte ge þ ofermodignys bið þæs god þe<sup>2</sup> hyre filigð, 7 gytsung is þæs god þe hyre þeowað. Se ðe þeowað gyfernysse 7 oferdruncennysse, hi him beoð for hlaford getealde; 7 ælc man bið swa fela leahtra þeow swa he underþeod bið. Geornostlice<sup>3</sup> se<sup>4</sup> ðe swilcum leahtrum filigð, hi þone soðan God forlætað. Þi ic eow þonne halsige þ ge ealle þas uncysta forlæton, ærþan se deað eowre sawle on helle cwicsusle teo. Gif þonne hwilc bisceop oððe hwilc gelæred man, æfterþanðe he<sup>5</sup> þis ærendgewrit him on handa hæfð 7 hit næle þam folce underþeodan ne him<sup>6</sup> ræðan, buton twyon ánrædlice he þolað Godes dómes; forðanðe swa hwilc sacerð swa ne gebodað þam folce heora synna, huru þinga on domesdæge heora blod bið fram him asoht, 7 he scildig þonne stent be heora synnum on Godes andweardnysse. Gif he him þonne bodað heora synna, 7 heora máne<sup>7</sup> ne byð gepæf mid him, he unschildig byð of heora synnum.

Men ða leofestan, þis gewrit næs æt fruman awriten ne améarcod þurh nanes eorðlices mannes handa, ac Godes engel hit awrat mid his agenum fingrum, swa ic eow ær herbeforan sæde, 7 hit Petre sealde, þam bisceope, 7 he (p. 52) hit swutele mid aðsware geæðde<sup>8</sup> 7 geswor, þus cwæðende: 'Ic Petrus and bisceop on þære Antiochiscan cyricean geæðe<sup>8</sup> 7 swërige þurh þone lifigendan Godes

<sup>1</sup> The text seems corrupt. Read *mid missenlicra glíwa begange oferfyllle 7 druncennysse neosiað*, &c. ? Cp. *Wulfstan*, 297<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> After *þe* a *ðe* erased.

<sup>3</sup> *Geornost-* Late Kentish for WS. *Eorn-*.

<sup>4</sup> Read either *se ðe . . . filigð*, *he forlæt*, or *þa ðe . . . filigað*, *hi . . . forlætað*.

<sup>5</sup> *he* over the line.

<sup>6</sup> After *him* about two letters (*ne*?) erased.

<sup>7</sup> Read *mānes*? *Gepæf* (*geþafa*) *bēon* 'to be a consenting party to, to acknowledge,' otherwise takes a genitive: cp. *Wūlfing, Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, Bonn, 1894, p. 10; *Modern Language Notes*, xi. 116; xii. 127.

<sup>8</sup> Of the OE. verb *geæðan* 'to swear' the dictionaries only record the past participle, *geæðed mann* 'a sworn witness,' from Edgar's laws (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, i. 274<sup>18</sup>). On the corresponding ME. *ēpen*, cp. Zupitza, *Anglia*, i. 469-70; and to the instances given by Zupitza add *Wars of Alexander*, l. 340.

sunu, þæs ðe gesceop heofonas 7 eorðan 7 ealle gesceafta, 7 þurh þa halgan þrynnysse 7 annysse, 7 þurh þa eadigan fæmnan scā Marian 7 þurh ealra engla endebyrdnysse 7 þurh ealra halig-lichoman, þ þas word þe on þis ærendgewrite awritene syndon on fruman<sup>1</sup> næron of nanes mannes handa gehiwode, ac hi wurdon ðonsēnde of Godes þrymsetle 7 mid engles fingrum awritene.' Gyf ge<sup>2</sup> þonne þysum gelyfan willað þe þis gewrit us segð 7 bodað, þonne sylþ us God ēce lif mid his englum in worulda woruld, ā buton ende, ā on ecnysse. Amen.

## 2. THE FRANKS CASKET.

The first we are able to ascertain with certainty concerning the history of the well-known Franks Casket<sup>3</sup> is that it was (presumably in the first half of the present century) in the possession of a family in Auzon (Brioude, Haute-Loire, France), by the members of which it was used as a work-box, and that subsequently, the silver fittings which held it together having been removed, the whole fell to pieces. The top and three of the sides then came into the possession of a Professor Mathieu, of Clermont Ferrand, in Auvergne, who in vain offered a reward for the missing end, which had quite disappeared. The fragments then fell into the hands of a Paris dealer in antiquities, who sold them in 1857 to the late Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, and they were afterwards presented by him to the British Museum. An account of the history of the casket, so far as Franks could ascertain it, together with facsimiles and interpretations of the runes and pictures, was given in 1867 by G. Stephens in his *Old Northern Runic Monuments*<sup>4</sup>, i. 470 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *fruma*.

<sup>2</sup> *ge* in another hand, above the line.

<sup>3</sup> The literature referring to the casket will be found enumerated in Wülker's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächs. Litteratur*, p. 356.

<sup>4</sup> Referred to in the following pages as *Run. Mon.*

About 1870 the attention of the late K. Hofmann of Munich was called to the casket by one of the workers on the *Monumenta Germ. hist.*, W. Arndt, who discovered a plaster cast of it in the sacristy of one of the churches at Clermont, and copied the runes as well as he could. His copy he sent to Hofmann, who was led thereby to make inquiries, and learnt that the casket was in the British Museum, and that facsimiles of it had been published by Stephens. By the help of these latter he published his interpretations of the runes in the *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1871, p. 665.

This cast is no doubt identical with one which, as I learn through the kindness of Professor Paul Meyer, is now owned by a daughter of Professor Mathieu, and which was therefore in all probability taken from the fragments when in the possession of the latter, and not from the casket whilst still intact. In this view I am confirmed by Mr. W. H. J. Weale, who some years ago made inquiries about the casket at Auzon and Brioude, and who was also told that it had originally belonged to St. Julian's at Brioude.

Hofmann states, without giving any authority for it, that the casket had once been in the possession of the church at Clermont in the Auvergne, and had subsequently been sold to a dealer (said to be English) in antiquities<sup>1</sup>. This information, presumably obtained by Arndt from some one connected with the church at Clermont, is certainly erroneous.

Mr. Weale has also kindly informed me that the fourth side was subsequently discovered in a drawer at Auzon, and was purchased by M. Carrand, of Lyons, who be-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. l. c. 665 : 'In einer Sakristei der Stadt Clermont (?) in der Auvergne befand sich vor Jahren ein geschnitztes Kästchen, welches mit anderen Alterthümern an einen (angeblich) englischen Antiquitätenhändler verkauft, vorher aber noch in Gyps abgossen wurde.'

queathed his collection to the Museo Nazionale at Florence, where it now is. Although I believe that the authorities of the British Museum were not ignorant of the whereabouts of the fragment, it was generally supposed to be lost, until in the *Academy*, August 2, 1890, p. 90, it was stated that Dr. Söderberg of Lund had discovered the missing side in a museum in Florence and that it contained 'a representation of a scene from the Sigurd myth, explained by Runic inscriptions<sup>1</sup>.' A photograph of the Florence portion has been pasted in position on the casket in the British Museum.

Some time ago Professor W. P. Ker and I determined to have photographs taken of all the sides in the British Museum, and Ker was also able to obtain a photograph of the fourth side from Florence. Of this side we had therefore two photographs, the one taken direct in Florence, the other being a photograph<sup>2</sup> of the photograph pasted on to the casket in the British Museum. As no reproduction of the Florence fragment has as yet been published<sup>3</sup>, and as

<sup>1</sup> The Florence fragment consists not only of the right side, but also of the corner-piece joining this side to the front and completing the inscription (*enberig*) on the right end of the front.

<sup>2</sup> As this last-mentioned shows the corner-piece joining the left side to the back, which corner-piece is in the British Museum and therefore does not appear on the Florence photograph, both photographs have been reproduced here.

<sup>3</sup> A reproduction of all the sides of the casket, including the Florence one, has since been published by Dr. E. Wadstein, Upsala, 1900, under the title of '*The Clermont Runic Casket*,' but, as my article was written before Wadstein's pamphlet appeared, as his facsimiles are on a considerably reduced scale, and as I do not agree with his interpretation of the runes on the fourth side, it seemed advisable to go on with the projected publication of our photographs. I think I should add a few words on the history of Wadstein's booklet. We sent copies of our Florence photograph of the hitherto missing side to a few scholars, amongst others to a friend who had been until then unaware of the existence of the Florence fragment. Our friend happened to show it to Wadstein, who was also quite ignorant that the fourth side had been found, and owes his knowledge of it to our photograph. He then borrowed it, had it reproduced, and published it. The key to the arbitrary rune-signs used for the vowels on this side was also furnished him by our friend. I wish to state my belief that Dr. Wadstein was not aware that we intended to publish our facsimile, though we were not unnaturally surprised at his doing so

the modern means of photography can produce more accurate facsimiles of the original than Stephens was able to give in his *Runic Monuments*, a work not everywhere accessible, Professor Ker suggested that I should, in addition to my rendering of the runes on the Florence fragment, reproduce the photographs of all the sides in the Furnivall volume. I may add that the collotypes here given represent the exact size of the casket, with the exception of those of the left side. In the case of the London photograph this side is slightly reduced, in that of the Florence photograph, slightly enlarged.

As is indicated by the inscription on the front side, the material of which the casket is made is the bone of some kind of whale<sup>1</sup>.

## I.

### THE TOP.

Of this only a portion has been preserved, and there may have been an inscription running along the top and bottom.

without first communicating with us. As my article was already written before I read Wadstein's pamphlet, I am only able to give my comments on it in the notes.

<sup>1</sup> Being anxious, if possible, to ascertain exactly what the material is, I wrote to Professor E. Ray Lankester, who very kindly went to the Museum and examined the casket for me. He came to the conclusion that it is the bone of some species of whale, but took a small fragment of the casket bone with him for microscopical examination, the result of which I give in his own words :—

'A microscopical examination of the bone of the casket proves it to be the bone of a whale. So far as microscopic structure goes it might be that of a dugong or a whale. But the plates of bone are too large to have been cut from any bone of the dugong. There are certain highly refractive concentric and radial stripes in the dense matter of the bone of the casket as shown by the microscopic sections under high power, which are characteristic of whale and dugong but are *not* seen in walrus or any other mammal's bone, so far as I can ascertain. The sections of the casket bone have been compared for me by Dr. Ridewood and Prof. Charles Stewart, F.R.S., with the large collection of microscopic sections of bone which are preserved in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. I therefore consider it *certain* that the bone of the casket is the bone of a whale, but cannot say of what species or what size.'



The only runes on the existing fragment are those yielding the name ægili.

Bugge (*Run. Mon.* i. p. lxx) follows up his explanation of the Weland picture on the front of the casket<sup>1</sup> with the suggestion that the bowman on the top piece is Egil, Weland's brother, and thinks that 'the carving tells a story about him of which we know nothing. We see that he defends himself with arrows. Behind him appears to sit a woman in a house; possibly this may be Egil's spouse Ölrún.' Stephens (*Run. Mon.* ii. 903) accepted this explanation, and also held that it referred to some lost chapter of the Egil Saga.

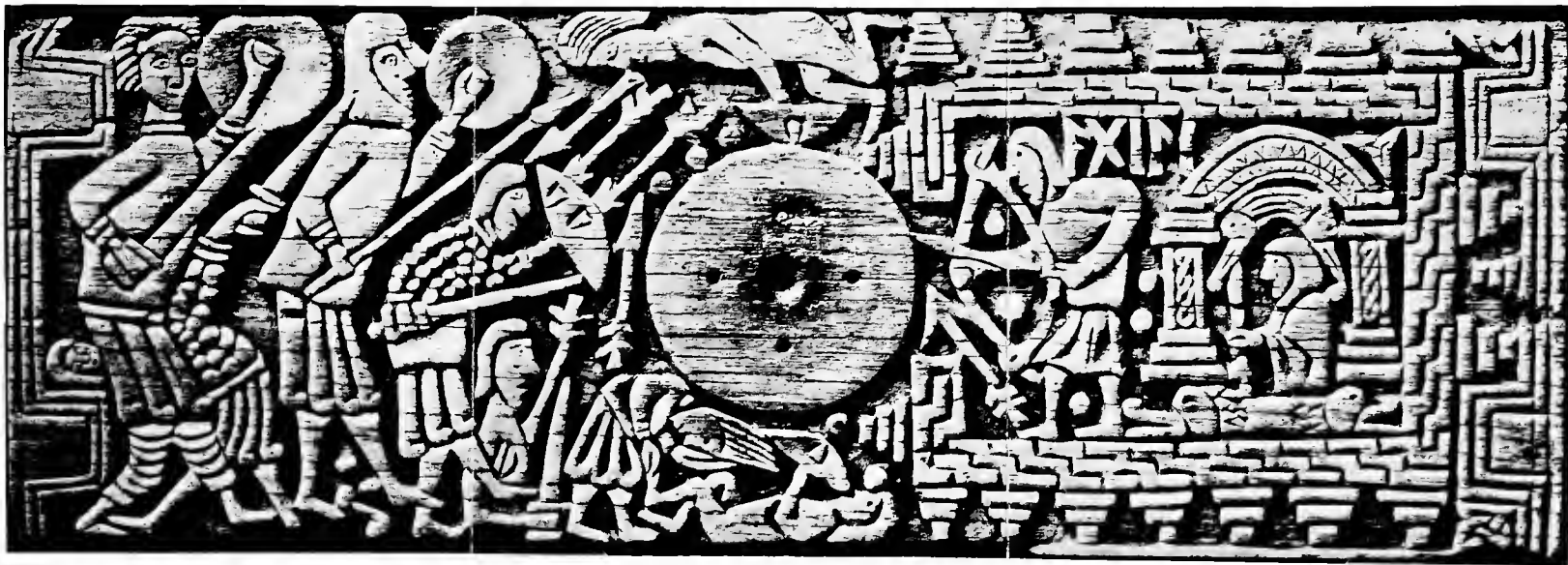
Hofmann, however, who independently identified the archer with Egil, believed the carving to refer to a story preserved in the *Þiðrek Saga*: how Weland was escaping from King Niðhad (to use the English forms) by the aid of the wings he had fashioned from the feathers of the birds shot by Egil. The latter is forced by the king to shoot at his retreating brother. The horizontal figure above the central disk is, according to Hofmann, the flying Weland. Egil however is not shooting at him, as in the Saga, but at the figures to the left of the disk, and the arrows on this side are from his bow. He suggests that Egil only made a feint of shooting at his brother, and then turned and attacked Niðhad and his men<sup>2</sup>.

I do not feel able to accept this explanation. A flying

<sup>1</sup> Cp. below, p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Wadstein believes that the picture refers to an incident told in the ballad of *Wyllyam of Cloudesle*, who has been identified by Jakob Grimm, Child, and others, with Egil. Wyllyam, who had been 'outlawed for venison,' was visiting his wife, when the justice and sheriff, informed of his visit, attacked him, and, after a fierce resistance, he was finally taken. This attack, Wadstein thinks, is represented by the picture.

But outlawry stories of this kind were common; they easily and naturally originated in post-Conquest times as a result of the severity of the forest laws, so that there is no justification whatever in assuming this particular incident in the late ballad to have any old Germanic background or to have formed an integral part of the old Egil Saga.



I. THE TOP



Weland would surely have been represented with wings instead of with a superfluous shield. I take it that this figure (as also the figure underneath the disk) is carved in a horizontal position merely because there was otherwise no room for him.

## II.

### THE FRONT.

The inscription runs :

Left: *hronæs ban*

Top: *fisc. flodu. ahof on ferg*

Right: *enberig*<sup>1</sup>

Bottom (reversed runes reading from right to left): *warþ ga:sríc grorn þær he on greut giswom*

Of the various renderings proposed<sup>2</sup>, that of Sweet<sup>3</sup> seems to be the most generally accepted, though it is not free from difficulties. He translates: 'The fish-flood lifted the whale's bones on to the mainland; the ocean became turbid where he swam aground on the shingle.'

Hofmann separates the *hronæs ban* from the rest and takes it to refer to the material from which the casket is made. In this I think he is right; it is metrically superfluous. *Fisc flodu* he rightly regards as two words, the latter being

<sup>1</sup> The right end-piece, separated from the rest on the photograph by a dark line, is supposed by Wadstein to be a recent restoration, a theoretical reconstruction, and he speaks of it as a 'modern substitute.' As a matter of fact it is the corner-piece of the Florence fragment (cp. p. 364, note 1), and Wadstein's supposed 'modern substitute' in the British Museum is a photograph of the Florence piece pasted in its proper place.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Grein-Wülker, i. 282. Wadstein translates: 'This is whale's bone. The flow heaved up the fish on the cliff-bank; he became sad, being wounded by spears, when he swam (impetuously) on the shingle.' The *gāsríc* he takes to be for *gār-síc*, 'spear-wounded,' but this is unlikely. A form *síc* for *sēc*, WS. *sēc*, is not sufficiently supported by the two isolated instances of *i=ēo* before *g* from the *Vespasian Psalter*, to which he refers; whilst forms from the late *Rushworth Gospels* prove little for the Anglian dialect of some centuries earlier.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Englische Studien*, ii. 315.

the subject. His rendering is, 'Walfischbein. Den Fisch erhob die Fluth,' &c. His 'Berghügel' seems a better translation of *fergenberig*<sup>1</sup> than Sweet's 'mainland'; it evidently refers to a steep shore. For the second line I can suggest nothing better than Sweet's explanation.

The carving in the centre is divided into two compartments, which have no connexion with each other. That on the right represents, as Stephens rightly recognized, the adoration of the Magi, over whose heads the word *mægi* is cut. The picture on the left was first correctly explained by Bugge (*Run. Mon.* i. p. lxix). It shows us a scene from the Weland legend<sup>2</sup> which is preserved in the *Þiðrek Saga*. To the left is Weland the smith, who is holding in a pair of tongs the head of one of Niðhad's sons over an anvil, underneath which lies the headless body of the boy. Weland, as we know, killed the king's two sons, and made drinking cups of their skulls. In front of Weland is Beaduhild, King Niðhad's daughter, who, according to the Saga, went with her attendant to Weland to have her ring mended. The figure catching birds on the right is Weland's brother Egil, who, the Saga tells us, shot birds and brought them to Weland to make wings from their feathers and escape.

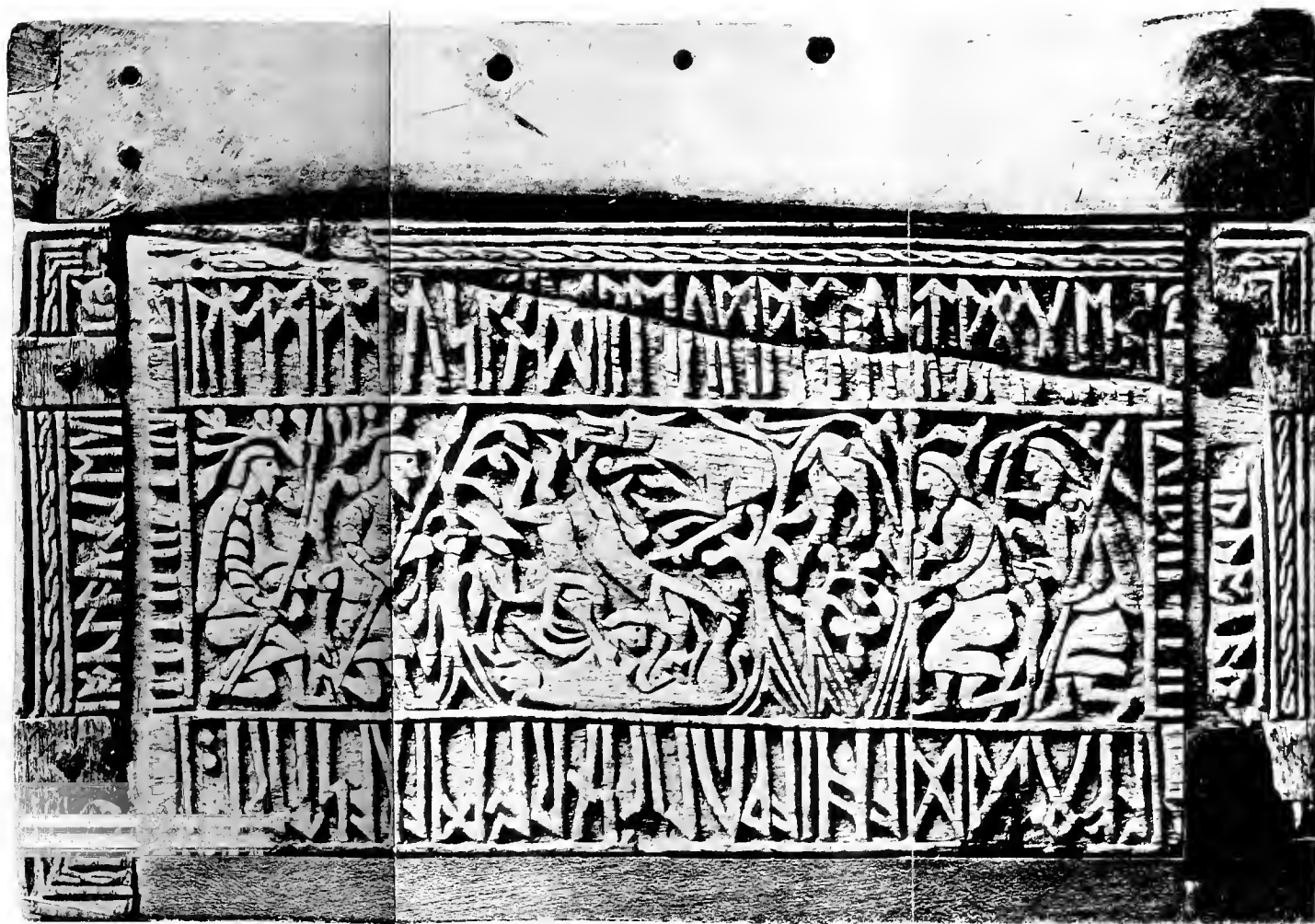
<sup>1</sup> The word *fergenberig*, or rather the second part of it, seems strange to Wülker (cp. l. c., p. 282, note 2). The first element is of course the correct Anglian representative of Gothic *fairguni* (= \**fergunja*), which would be WS. \**feorgen*; the recorded WS. *firgen* (*fy-*) with umlaut, is from a form with the *-inja* suffix. The *berig* is the Northumbrian form corresponding to WS. *beorg*, with *e* for *eo* before *rg*, and the svarabhakti *-i*. The svarabhakti vowel is characteristic of Old Northumbrian, cp. *wylif* (left side), *Cupbereht* (Lancaster Cross), *Cyniburug* (Bewcastle Cross), the frequent *beric* and *walach* names in Bede, and the *aluch* names in the *Liber Vitae* (cp. Sweet, *Oldest Engl. Texts*, pp. 489 and 530), as well as the *Eotbereht* on the coins of Eadberht of Northumbria, A. D. 737-758 (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Engl. Coins*, Anglo-Sax. Series, i. p. 140), *Cudbereht*, moneyer of Redwulf king of Northumbria, A. D. 844 (l. c., p. 184), *Osbereht*, king of Northumbria, A. D. 849-867 (l. c., p. 187), &c. Cp. also Bülbring, *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, ix. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Hofmann independently suggested the Weland Saga.









III. THE LEFT SIDE



III.

LEFT SIDE.

The inscription runs :

Left : oplæ unneg

Top : romwalus and reumwalus twøgen

Right : gibroþær

Bottom (runes inverted) : afœddæ hiæ wylif in romæcæstri :

The rendering of this presents no difficulties : ' Far from their native land Romulus and Remus, two brothers ; a she-wolf nourished them in Rome-city.' The picture illustrates this.

The use of the *g*-rune for *h* in *unneg* and also in *fegtaþ* (Back) should be noted. Stephens, followed by Sweet in his *Oldest English Texts*, p. 127, reads *gibroþæra fœddæ* ; Hofmann, p. 667, separates *gibroþær afœddæ*. The latter is, no doubt, correct. A form *gibroþæra* scarcely admits of explanation. Sweet's suggestion (l. c., p. 642) that it stands for *gibrōþru* seems untenable : on the one hand because the representation of the final *-ru* by *-ra*, common enough in later West Saxon, cannot be assumed for early eighth-century Northumbrian, and secondly because a svarabhakti vowel, as the *æ* must be, if this explanation is correct, would not be *æ* after a preceding *o*, but *o* (cp. the instances, p. 368, note 1, which show that the character of the svarabhakti vowel was regulated by that of the preceding vowel). A *gibroþær*, on the other hand, would equate exactly with the OS. plur. *gibroðer*, the ending of which, as in OHG. (plur.) *muoter, tohter*, represents an Indog. *-ter*<sup>1</sup>. That

<sup>1</sup> In this explanation it is immaterial whether we regard the *-þer, -ter* in the nom. plur. (as in OS. *gibroðer*, OHG. *muoter*, &c.) to represent the Indog. nom. plur. *-teres* (as in *φῶτρες, μητρες, πατέρες*), which is the view taken by Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, p. 251, and by Kluge, Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd ed., i. p. 460, § 231, or whether we accept Brugmann's limitation in view of OHG. *ubir*, ON. *yfir* = Skr. *upari*, that Indog. unaccented *-er* is represented by *-er* in Germanic only, if no palatal vowel follows. In the latter case the Germanic *-er* in the nom. plur. must have been taken over from the accusative sing. *-ter* (cf. *πατέρα*).

Indog. *-er-* would appear in early Northumbrian as *-ær*, is shown by the *æftær* = *\*apteros* (Falstone inscription). The ordinary OE. nom. plur. *broþor* corresponds to Indog. *\*bhrātores* (cp. *φπάροτες*): a West Germanic unaccented *-ar-* (= Indog. *-or-*, *-os-*) appears in OE. as *-or*: cp. *lombor*, *salor*, &c. (from Indog. *-os-*)<sup>1</sup>.

## IV.

## THE BACK.

The inscription (partly in runes, partly in Roman characters) runs:—

Left: *her fegtaþ*

Top: *titus end giuþeasu hic fugiant hierusalim*

Right: *afitadores*

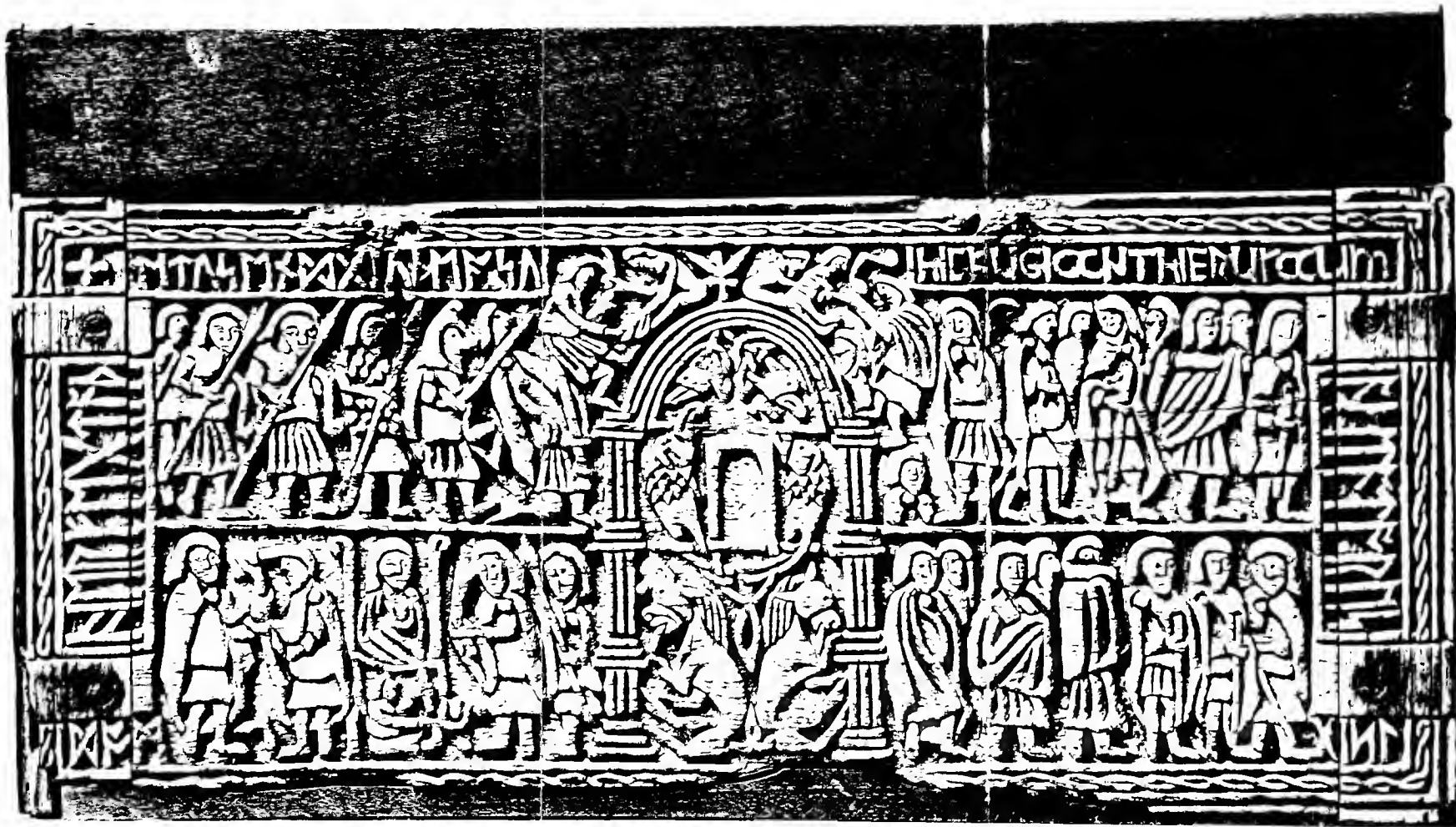
Bottom: *dom* (on the left) *gisl* (on the right).

*Giuþeasu* is an impossible form; if a nom. pl., we should expect *giuþeas*<sup>2</sup>, 'the Jews.' The most plausible explanation is furnished by Mr. H. Bradley's very ingenious suggestion that we should read *giuþea sumæ*, 'some of the Jews, a portion of their army.' The *giuþeasu* stands at the end of a division in the inscription, and the carver, proceeding to the next, might easily forget the *mæ*. *Fugiant* is miscut for *-unt*; *afitadores* is *habitatores*.

The inscription may be rendered: 'Here fight Titus and

<sup>1</sup> Wadstein also regards *gibroþær* as the correct form, supporting it by a reference to Brugmann, ii. § 320. What he means is not clear. Brugmann there gives the ending Indog. *-tres* as the regular ending from which the Germanic nom. plur. is derived (as in ON. (Runic) *dohtriR*, ON. *brøðr*); but this would have yielded a form with the umlaut *æ* in the root syllable.

<sup>2</sup> On the *þ* of *giuþea*, which occurs also in OS. *Juðeo*, O. Fris. *Jotha*, cp. Kluge, *Zeitschrift für roman. Philol.*, xx. 325. Wadstein regards the *-asu* as a 'remarkable nom. plur. ending' (it certainly would be!), and suggests that it may be the original of the later *-as* plural. Does he imagine that a form corresponding to the Sanskrit *-āsas* could by any possibility give a seventh or eighth century English *-asu*? I fear his suggestion will not meet with acceptance.



IV. THE BACK









some of the Jews. Here the inhabitants flee from Jerusalem.'

As to the meaning of the *dom gisl*, D. H. Haigh, *The Conquest of Britain*, p. 43, thought they might perhaps form 'a rebus of the name of the maker of this casket, *dom-gisl*.' To Stephens (*Run. Mon.* i. 473) they 'rather appear to refer to the scenes represented, the strong measures taken by Titus to secure the obedience of the conquered city and of the people of Judaea generally.' In *Run. Mon.* iii. 203 he gave another less probable explanation of *dom*<sup>1</sup>.

# V.

## THE RIGHT SIDE (NOW IN FLORENCE).

A glance at the facsimile shows that in addition to the ordinary runes the carver has made use of certain arbitrary signs (𐌺 𐌶 𐌶 𐌶 𐌶), and, furthermore, that there is an almost entire absence of vowel-runes, the only exceptions being the *a* in the ligature *fa* (left), and the *e* rune<sup>4</sup> (bottom).

The natural conclusion to be drawn from this was that the arbitrary signs represent the missing vowels, and it was not difficult to assign to them their respective values (𐌺 = *a*, 𐌶 = *æ*, 𐌶 = *e*, 𐌶 = *i*, 𐌶 = *o*)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Wadstein accepts the first suggestion and regards the *dom* compartment as representing Fronto holding the court in which the fate of the captured Jews was decided (Josephus, *De bello jud.*, lib. vi. cap. ix). The right-hand *gisl* compartment he thinks shows the captives taken by Titus, and he believes that *gisl* is used either collectively or as a neuter plur., and means 'captives.' His reasoning, in the absence of any such collective or neuter use of *gisl* elsewhere in OE., has not convinced me that there is any reason for departing from the usual rendering 'hostage.'

<sup>2</sup> The last three signs are new ones. The first (𐌺) is the ordinary *c*-rune (as used on the Ruthwell Cross, &c.), the second (𐌶) is another form of the *c*-rune (identical with that used on the other sides of the casket, e. g. in *cæstri*, *gasric*). They cannot however denote *c* here, but are arbitrarily used for some other sound.

<sup>3</sup> The sign 𐌶 varies somewhat in form, but I believe that the various forms have all the same value.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. H. Bradley and Mr. W. A. Craigie arrived quite independently at the same interpretation of the arbitrary runes.









V. THE RIGHT SIDE, SHOWING THE END-PIECE

(Taken in London)

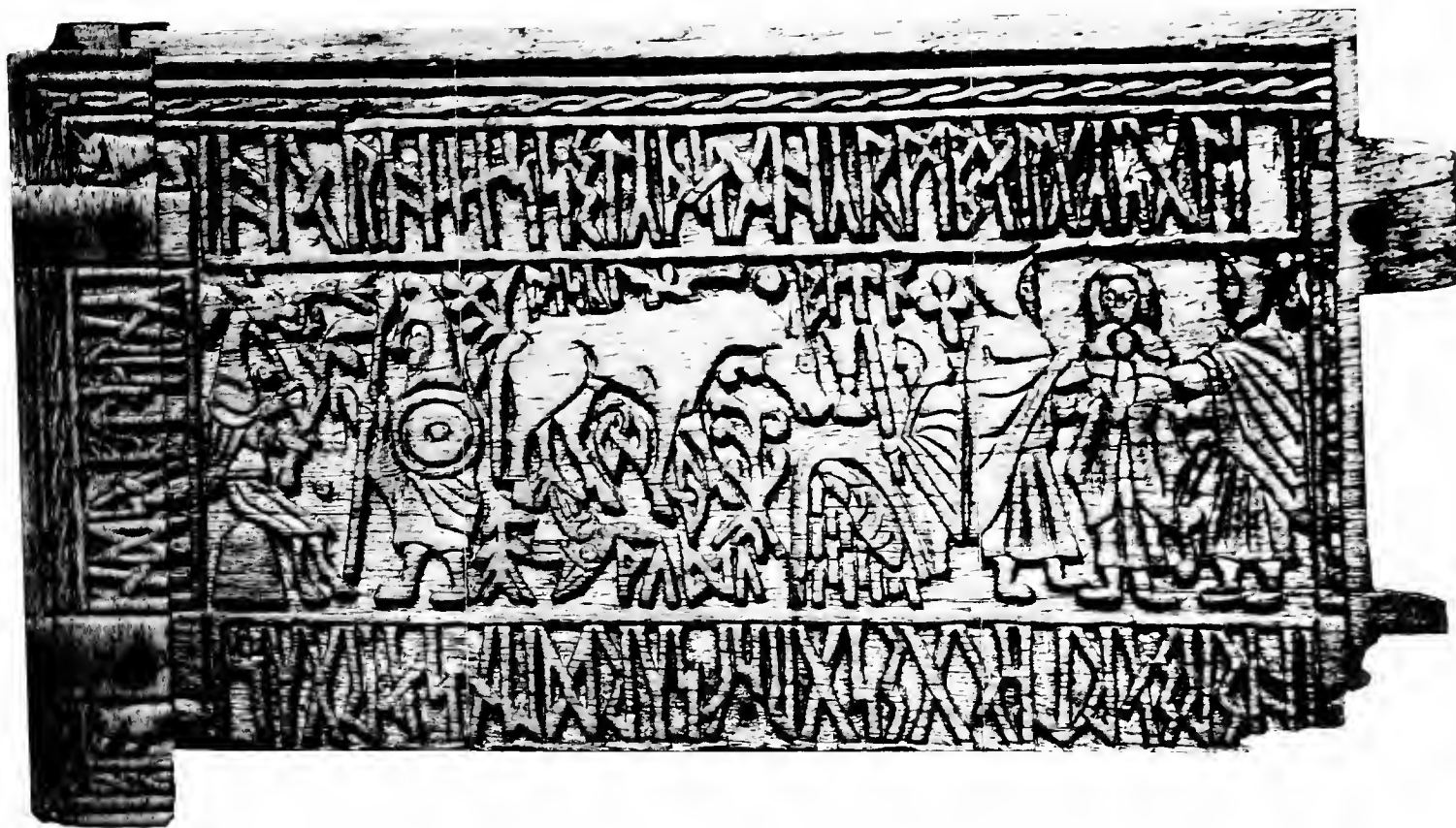
Looking at *rdMnsHrg* (bottom) it was evident that the word-division must come between the *n* and the *s*, since (with certain well-known exceptions due to syncope, &c.) an *s* is not found after an *n*, the latter having been lost in that position in prehistoric English. Taking the letters *sHrg*, the word *sorg* is most obvious, and looking a few runes ahead we see the synonymous *torn*. Turning now to the top line and interpreting *H* as *o*, we get *on hλrm bχrgλ*, in the *bχrg* of which we recognize the North. *berg*, WS. *beorg*, and a dative ending being required after the *on*, we may interpret *λ* as *æ*, yielding *on hærmbergæ*, which, except that the carver cut *hærm* instead of *harm* or *hearm*, gives a perfectly intelligible reading. Applying the newly gained values to the bottom and left, we get *sorgæ hnd sefu tornæ*, where it is evident that *h* stands for *a* ('with sorrow and grief of heart'). For the only remaining vowel sign occurring more than once, viz. *ξ*, one naturally first tries the value *i*, and this applied to the right-hand line yields the word *drigip*, 'endures' (= *\*driugip*, with Anglian smoothing of *iū* to *i* before *g*; WS. *drīegð*), and what more appropriate than 'suffering' in connexion with 'sorrow-hill'?

In the whole of the inscription there are only two vowel-runes, the *F* in the ligature (*fa*), and the *M* in *dMn*. In the transliteration given above I have provisionally assigned to the first its ordinary value *a*. When however we bear in mind that we already have *h* for *a*, it becomes probable that the *F* is meant for some other vowel, and this is confirmed by the consideration that in the oblique cases of the weak declension we expect the ending *-u*<sup>1</sup>, not *-a*. Hence I believe that we must read *sefu* (gen. sing.). We may similarly conclude that *M* was intended to denote some other vowel not already represented (*æ*, *y*, *ea*, *eo*)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *foldu* (acc. sing.) Cædmon's Hymn; *galgu* (acc. sing.) Ruthwell Cross; *eorðu* (acc. sing.) Leiden Riddle.

<sup>2</sup> Wadstein has overlooked this and reads *dMn* as *den*. He also reads *swi* for *swæ* (right side), wrongly taking the *λ* to be *þ*, the ordinary *i*-rune.





VI. THE RIGHT SIDE

(Taken in Florence)



These considerations led me to the following reading of the runes, and the word *her* naturally pointed to the beginning:

Top: *her hos sitæþ on hærmbergæ agl[ ]*<sup>1</sup>

Right: *drigip swæ*<sup>2</sup>

Bottom (runes inverted): *hiri ertaegisgrafsærd Mn<sup>3</sup> sorgæ a*

Left: *nd sefu tornæ*

Arranging this in three lines and altering *sitæþ*<sup>4</sup> and *hærm-* to *sitiþ*, *harm-*<sup>5</sup>, we get:

*Her hos sitiþ on harmbergæ*

*agl[ ] drigip swæ hiri ertaegisgraf*

*særd/Mn sorgæ and sefu tornæ.*

The meaning of the beginning and the end is pretty clear: 'Here sits . . . on the sorrow-hill . . . with sorrow and anguish of heart.' The main difficulties are presented by the middle portion. In this part we at once recognize *drigip*, 'endures,' and the word *egisgraf*, 'terror-grove,' is, at first sight, equally obvious: it suits the 'sorrow-hill,' the

<sup>1</sup> After *l* is a vertical stroke, and after that, traces of a slanting one high up. One has the impression that the carver has purposely cut something out. If the vertical stroke is not a mere mistake, it must be part of one of the arbitrary vowel-runes, and then can only be *h* or *M*. The sloping stroke, of which we see a trace, Mr. H. Bradley suggests may be part of a squeezed-up *g*-runes, yielding *aglag* for *aglac* (cp. p. 375, note 1), but whether we read the preceding rune as *h* or *M*, I do not think there is room for it.

<sup>2</sup> Only the upper part of the *λ* is still preserved, but still sufficient to make the reading quite certain. Wadstein wrongly takes it to be *l* (the ordinary *i*-runes: cp. p. 372, note 2) and reads *swiþ*, but there is no room for a *þ*, nor any trace of another letter.

<sup>3</sup> I have purposely not separated the words here.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. p. 370, note 1. Wadstein evidently regards *sitæþ* as a correct early Anglian form for the 3rd person sing., and he cites Sievers, *Angelsächs. Gramm.*, § 358, Anm. 2; but Sievers is there only speaking of the late tenth-century interlinear glosses with their well-known utter confusion of grammatical forms. It is impossible to ascribe any such confusion to an early Northumbrian text which accurately distinguishes between *i* and *æ* in the unaccented syllables. *Sitiþ* is, of course, the only possible form.

<sup>5</sup> The carver or copyist (cp. p. 374, note 2) was evidently thoroughly acquainted with the ordinary runes, for he uses them throughout accurately; but in the case of the arbitrary vowel-runes, which were new to him, he has made several mistakes: *sitæþ* for *sitiþ*, *hærm-* for *harm-*, and presumably *hiri* for *hiræ*, *sær* for *sar*.

'suffers,' and the 'sorrow and anguish of heart.' But for all that, I believe that *egisgraf* is untenable.

The first and last of the three lines above printed form metrically correct alliterative lines, representing Sievers' types C + C and A + C respectively, and the presumption is that the middle portion should yield an equally perfect line. Since *agl*[ ] evidently does not belong to one of the classes of words without sentence stress (conjunctions, prepositions, &c.), nor, on account of the following *drigip*, can it be a verb, it must be a substantive, adjective, or adverb, presumably the first. In any case it must bear the alliteration. Now as the second half-line can only have one alliterating syllable, and that must be the first of the two arses, and as a substantive *egisgraf*, beginning as it does with a vowel, would necessarily alliterate, it would follow that the arses in the second half-line must fall on the *eg-* (or *egis-*) and on the *-graf*, and that *swæ hiri erta*, whatever it means, must be unaccented and constitutes an auftakt of five syllables. But such a half-line as  $\times\times\times\times\cup\times\angle$  is metrically impossible, whether we regard the  $\cup\times$  as a reduced arsis + thesis, or as a resolved arsis. Moreover, *erta* is neither conjunction nor preposition, but looks like a substantive, and in that case would also alliterate. I propose therefore to give up the *egisgraf*, tempting as it is, and to read *swæ hiri ertae gisgraf*, which I regard as equivalent to *swæ hiræ*<sup>1</sup> *ertæ*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wadstein regards *hiri* as the possessive 'her'; he believes it to be an old locative and equates it with Frisian *hiri*. But as we learn from van Helten's *Altostfriesische Grammatik* (his authority for this form), *hiri* only occurs in the two so-called Rürstring MSS. (13-14 cent.), the regular form being *hire*. A reference to van Helten, § 60, shows that a Germanic final *-ai* is regularly represented in Frisian by *-e*, but that in the two Rürstring MSS.—and there only—it occasionally appears as *i*. May we not therefore assume with van Helten (cp. § 242, where he refers back to § 60) that the Rürstring *hiri* is not a locative at all, but a dative, identical with the ordinary Frisian *hire*, and that it goes back to a form ending in *-ai*, just as the OE. *hiræ*, later *hire*, does?

<sup>2</sup> I presume that the carver either cut direct from a parchment copy with the verses written in Roman characters, or from a copy, written in runes, made from such an original. That assumption will serve to explain one or two errors. Since in our earliest English MSS. we find *ae* written much

*giscrāf*<sup>1</sup>, 'as "Ertæ" had imposed upon her (assigned to her).' We thus get a perfectly metrical half-line of type B, and can compare it with *Beowulf*, l. 2574, *swā him wƿrd ne gescrāf*.

There still remains *agl* [ ], which must, for metrical reasons, represent a word of at least two syllables. If a substantive, as it most probably is, it may either be the object of *drigif* or its subject. In the latter case it must be a feminine proper name because of the following *hiri*. On the former assumption I should suggest that it may be for *aglæ*<sup>2</sup>, the accusative of a strong fem. \**ægl* related to *egle*, adj., *eglian*, 'to ail,' and to the Gothic weak fem. *aglō*, 'tribulation, anguish.'

With regard to *særdMn*, the M must obviously represent one of the vowels for which the carver had no other symbol (cp. p. 372), i.e. *æ*, *y*, *ea*, *eo*. If we read *sær dæn* and regard it as equivalent to *sār*<sup>3</sup> *dæn*<sup>4</sup>, it might mean 'rendered miserable.'

*Ertæ*<sup>5</sup> I take to be a female proper name. The three

more frequently than the ligature *æ* (in the *Epinal Glosses* it is regularly written so, cp. Dieter, *Ueber Sprache, &c. der ältesten engl. Denkm.* 1885, p. 17), one can easily understand how a copyist, when turning the Roman letters into runes, might mechanically render the *æ* of his original by *Ɀ* instead of by *λ*. And if Stevenson's suggestion is correct (cp. note 5), he might misread *ercae* as *ertae*.

<sup>1</sup> The reason why the carver cut *gisgraf* with *g* instead of *c* was that he was already using the two forms of the *c*-rune (*Ɀ*, *λ*) as vowels (*a*, *æ*), and was therefore precluded from employing either of them here. That being so, the *g*-rune was the most obvious substitute.

<sup>2</sup> The root vowel must in that case be miscut for *æ*. Or the *agl* [ ] might conceivably represent an *æglu*, the accusative of a weak fem. corresponding to Gothic *aglō*. Wadstein suggests *āglāc*, 'misery, torment,' which occurs elsewhere in connexion with *drēogan* (cp. Grein, s. v. *aglāc*), and which would suit excellently as regards meaning, but there is certainly no room for the *c* (cp. p. 373, note 1).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *æ* for *a* in *hærm*-, and p. 373, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> For the construction cp. Grein, s. v. *dōn*: *þu mē dydest ēaðmēdne, dō mē cwiene*, &c. It is true that I have found no instance of the passive construction. Moreover one would expect *gidæn*.

<sup>5</sup> My friend Mr. W. H. Stevenson suggests the *Erce* (*Erce*, *Erce*, *Erce*, *Eorðan mōdor*) of the charm, in which case we should have to assume that the carver, or the copyist who turned the Roman letters into runes, misread

lines would then run : ' Here " hos <sup>1</sup> " sits on the sorrow-hill, endures tribulation as Ertæ (Ercæ ?) had imposed upon her, rendered wretched by sorrow and anguish of heart.'

This interpretation of the runes at any rate yields three perfectly correct metrical lines, and also a connected sense. Although I incline to this rendering, I willingly allow that there are difficulties which must not be lost sight of.

On the one hand, it might be urged that, if correct, the inscription would only refer to a small portion of the picture, the rest being ignored <sup>2</sup>. Again, who or what is *hos*? A proper name <sup>1</sup>? It can scarcely be *hōs*, 'a troop <sup>3</sup>.' The *her*, with which the lines begin, points to the conclusion that the inscription refers to the picture <sup>4</sup>, and it seems difficult to dissociate the *hos* sitting on the 'sorrow-hill' from the figure with an animal's head sitting on a mound. In that case it would seem simplest to adopt Mr. Bradley's suggestion that *hos* stands for *hors*, the *r*-runes having been accidentally omitted. Now apart from the fact that *hors* would scarcely be used of a woman, the sitting figure on the mound is undoubtedly in a man's dress <sup>5</sup>, and it is therefore difficult to see how the *hiri*, 'upon her,' in l. 2, can refer to it. In that case, the only

the Roman *cas t* (cp. p. 374, note 2), no uncommon mistake. But who was *Ercæ*? Wadstein connects *erta* with the ME. verb *erten*, 'to provoke,' &c., and renders it by 'incitation' (cp. p. 378, note 2); but this verb does not appear until the fourteenth century, and is, no doubt, a Scandinavian loan-word from ON. *erta*.

<sup>1</sup> Can *hos* be the name of some legendary heroine?

<sup>2</sup> It is not, in my opinion, necessary for the inscription to refer to more than a part of the picture. If the front, e.g., had been provided with runes referring to the carving, it is quite possible that they would only have referred to a part, say to Weland and Beaduhild, without mentioning either Egil catching birds or the Magi.

<sup>3</sup> An interpretation *hoss itilp*, 'eats the vine-shoot (vine-leaf)' (cp. Napier, *O. E. Glosses*, I. 564, *pampinos* = *hosses*), in spite of the fact that the sitting figure seems to be biting at the leaves of the branch he is holding in his hand (cp. p. 378), I also think is untenable.

<sup>4</sup> For Wadstein's explanation of the picture cp. p. 378, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the dress of Weland with those of Beaduhild and her attendant on the front of the casket.

possibility seems to be to separate the first line from the rest and to put a full stop after *harmbergæ*. Taking that view, can *agl[ ]* be a woman's name? 'Agl[ ] suffers<sup>1</sup>, as Ertæ had imposed upon her, rendered wretched by sorrow,' &c. If she is represented by the little cooped-up figure in the central portion of the picture, we may perhaps imagine that some story of banishment to a cave in a wood is alluded to, as in the *Wife's Complaint*, ll. 27-28:

Heht mec mon wunian on wuda bearwe  
under äctræo in þām eorðscræfe.

There is still a further possibility, though it seems to me far less likely. Should all three lines be separated and regarded as respectively explaining the three scenes<sup>2</sup> represented by the carving? In that case the last line would refer to the three figures standing on the right, and we should need a verb. The only part of the line which can contain a verb is the *særdMn*, in which the *d*, *n* would point to a weak preterite, and we should have to read *særdun*<sup>3</sup>, the preterite plural of a weak verb *særan*, which would presumably mean 'to make sore or sad.' It could scarcely mean 'to be sore or sad.' Then the line would be rendered by: '[They, the three figures?] saddened [whom?] with sorrow and anguish of heart.' But why the sudden transition from the present *sitiþ*, *drigiþ*, to the preterite *særdun*, and from the singular to the plural? Moreover, we expect a subject to this plural verb to be expressed. Can it be that these three lines have been selected from three different passages from some longer poem dealing with the tale here depicted, and that, though without their context they are not complete, they were sufficiently intelligible to an

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps rather 'passes her life.' As an intransitive verb *drēogan* is only recorded in the sense of 'to be employed, busy,' not 'to be suffering,' but this may be merely an accident.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. p. 376, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> I merely put this forward as a possibility to be taken into account. I do not myself believe in it. We should then be forced to read *sefa*, not *sefu* (cp. p. 372).

Anglian of the seventh or eighth century, conversant as he would be with the story, to serve as headings for the three situations represented on the picture?

With regard to the words on the carving itself, in which the ordinary vowel-runes are used, we read *risci bita* above, and *wudu* below. The last would seem to indicate that the scene of the story illustrated by this part of the picture is laid in a wood. Is it too bold a suggestion to make that the *risci bita* is a compound meaning 'rush-biter<sup>1</sup>, feeder on rushes or coarse swampy grass,' and that it refers to the animal below? Does not the figure sitting on the 'sorrow-hill' seem to be nibbling at the leaves of the (very unrush-like) branch he is holding in his hand?

I hope that these suggestions may have thrown some light on the mysterious inscription on the Florence fragment, or at any rate may in some measure advance us nearer to its complete elucidation. A thoroughly satisfactory solution of all the problems connected with it is scarcely to be hoped for until we know to what the carving refers, who the actors, and what the scenes were thereon depicted<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The form *risci* would correspond to the later WS. *risce*, *rixe*, which is recorded (e. g. Ælfric's *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, ii. 402<sup>9</sup>), besides *risc* (*Corpus, Epinal Gll.*, Ælfric's *Grammar*, ed. Zupitza, 311<sup>16</sup>, &c.). The dictionaries take it to be a fem. *ōn*-stem, but that is, I believe, merely based on the genitive plural *earixena* in Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, iii. 122<sup>8</sup>. This proves nothing, for it is taken from a twelfth-century MS. in which the OE. declensions are already confused. *Risce* may therefore quite well be a *ja*-stem.

Wadstein believes that *risci* stands by metathesis for *ricsi*, and that it is an abstract formed by the suffix *in* from a substantive *\*rics*, 'darkness,' which represents the *s* form of an *os, es, s* stem, of which the Gothic *rigis* represents the *es* form, and ON. *rǫkkr* the *os* form (this *s* form should, by the way, be *\*recs*, not *\*rics*). But as such abstract formations were made in Germanic with few exceptions from adjectives—I know of no OE. instances derived from substantives—as moreover the *in*-abstracts have in OE. all taken the ending *u* (*o*), as there is absolutely no evidence elsewhere of the existence of an OE. cognate to *rigis*, and as there is no corroborating form like *hovor* besides *hux*, *husc* (if Sievers is right, § 289, Anm. 3, in taking this as the *s* form of an *os, es* stem), I cannot accept Wadstein's suggestion.

<sup>2</sup> Wadstein suggests, as Söderberg had already done (cp. p. 364), that the carving on this side represents scenes from the Sigurd (Sigfrid) Saga.



There still remain the questions of dialect and age. It is obvious at a glance that the runes were carved by an Anglian, not by a West-Saxon. We have the distinctively Anglian smoothing of diphthongic sounds before *h, g, rg*, in *fergen* (cp. p. 368, note 1), *berig*, *unneg*, *fegtaþ*, *bergæ*, *drigip* (cf. p. 372), and the absence of diphthongization after an initial palatal in *cæstri*. Stephens assigned a Northumbrian origin to the casket, and this is confirmed by the loss of the inflexional *n* in *sefu*<sup>1</sup>, by the insertion of a svarabhakti vowel in *berig*,

Although I remain entirely unconvinced by the reasons he puts forward, and believe that the true explanation of the picture has still to be found, I give a brief account of his views. The mound to the left is the tumulus where Sigfrid lies buried, the figure in man's clothing seated thereon is Sigfrid's horse, Grane, whilst the man standing in front of it is Høgne, the murderer of Sigfrid. The centre of the picture again shows us the horse standing with his head bent down over a tumulus in the interior of which the dead Sigfrid can be seen. The figure to the right of the tumulus is Sigfrid's wife, Guðrun, also mourning over the dead hero. It is night, and the scene is laid in a wood, indicated in the carving by the words *risci*, 'darkness' (cp. p. 378, note 1), and *wudu* respectively. Of the three figures to the right, the middle one is Brynhild, who is egging on Gunnar and Høgne to the slaughter of Sigfrid.

Wadstein divides the inscription into three parts, each referring to one of the divisions of the picture, and his rendering of it is as follows: (1) 'Here the horse (Wadstein adopts Mr. Bradley's suggestion) sits on the sorrow-hill, suffers strong (*swiþ*) torment.' This refers to the sitting Grane. (2) *Hin erta*, 'her incitation.' This refers to the group of three figures on the right. (3) *Egisgraf, særden sorgæ and sefa-tornæ*, 'The grave of awe, the grievous cave of sorrows and afflictions of mind.' On *swiþ* cp. p. 373, note 2. *Egisgraf* might mean 'terror-grove,' but not 'grave of awe,' which would be *-græf*. On *særden* cp. p. 375; moreover OE. *den* means the 'lair of a wild beast'; in the sense of 'a cave' it does not occur until the fourteenth century. *Sorgæ* and *tornæ* Wadstein regards as genitive plural, but does not explain how an OE. genitive plural can possibly end in *-æ*; they are of course dative singular. The genitive plural ending, Indog. *-ōm* (with circumflexed accent), is represented by *-a* in the earliest Northumbrian as well as in West Saxon; cp. *uundra, ælda* in Cædmon's Hymn. Finally, I may point out that Wadstein has taken no account of metrical considerations.

<sup>1</sup> It might be urged that the loss of the inflexional *n* would not exclude the North Mercian area, as a similar loss of *n* (side by side with *n* preserved) is frequent in the later North Mercian glosses to St. Matthew (cp. Brown, *Language of the Rushworth Glosses to the Gospel of St. Matthew*, ii. pp. 21, 43, 46, 79, 85), whilst it does not occur in the more Southern *Vespasian Psalter* (cp. Zeuner, *Die Sprache des kentschen Psalters*, p. 77); but this partial loss of *n* in the North Mercian *Rushworth Glosses* would seem not to be Mercian, but to be due to the influence of the Northumbrian

*wylif* (cp. p. 368, note 1), and by the *æ* in *cæstri*, which in the Mercian *Vespasian Psalter* would be *cest*<sup>1</sup>. We may, I think, safely assert that the home of the casket was the coast of Northumbria. Can the whale have been stranded at the foot of the cliffs on the summit of which stood the abbey of Streoneshalh?

With regard to the age of the carvings, the preservation of the *u* in *flōdu* points to a date not later than the end of the seventh century<sup>2</sup>, whilst the accurately marked distinction between *i* and *æ* in the unaccented syllables—there is not a single instance of the later *e*—shows that it cannot be much later than 740, by which date *e*'s began to creep in (cp. Sievers, *Anglia*, xiii. 13). The *eu* in *greut* cannot well be later than early eighth century; in the Epinal Glosses, which Chadwick, '*Studies in Old English*' (*Cambr. Philol. Trans.*, 1899, p. 248), dates about 730 at the latest, there are only three instances of *eu* as compared with about six times as many of the later *eo*, *io*. The use of *f* instead of *b* in *wylif*, *sefu*, might be urged against the seventh century, but does not militate against the first half of the eighth: cp. the *hefænrices* besides *heben* in Cædmon's Hymn, A. D. 737, and Sievers, *Anglia*, xiii. 15-16. The same may be said of the loss of *n* in *sefu*: cp. *foldu* (= WS. *foldan*) in Cædmon's Hymn, and *galgu* on the Ruthwell Cross. The

dialect, as Mr. Henry Bradley has shown in an interesting and convincing article in the *Academy*, Feb. 17, 1883, p. 116, that the place-names afford undoubted evidence that the present southern boundary of Yorkshire constitutes the boundary line for the loss of *n*: north of this line the *n* was regularly dropped, south of it it was invariably preserved: OE. *æt hēan lēage*, for instance, appears in North Derbyshire, a few miles south of this line, as *Handley* (in Domesday, *Henlei*), about a mile to the north of it as *Heely*, &c., &c. This loss of *n* may therefore be taken as incontrovertible proof of Northumbrian origin.

<sup>1</sup> This in itself would not preclude North Mercian origin, as the Rushworth *Matthew* generally has *æ*.

<sup>2</sup> I attach great weight to the preservation of *u* in *flōdu*. This form cannot have been copied from an older original, as the inscription on this side was evidently composed for the occasion, viz. the stranding of the whale. This shows that it cannot be much later than 700.

*sifu*, 'seven,' which occurs twice in an early eighth-century Northumbrian gloss (cp. Napier, *O. E. Glosses*, 54, 1, and *Academy*, August 24, 1889, p. 119), exhibits both *f* and loss of *n*. The most likely date therefore which can be arrived at from linguistic considerations is the beginning of the eighth century.

A. S. NAPIER.

OXFORD,  
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